



**The Vision of the Jihaadi Movement
&
the Strategy for the Current Stage**

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****Translator's Note**:**

The author is a Mujaahid in one of the known Global Jihaadi Fronts that espouse the Salafi Jihaadi Methodology.

He has written and published this research in order to spur strategic dialogue.

After the release of the Arabic version there were various forms of feedback that led the author to disclose that he has decided to make multiple key changes to his research in the form of a new second edition.

All input is welcomed by the author.

As for the translation, I tried my best to render the Arabic as literal as possible for the English reader without any major changes.

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The Vision of the Jihaadi Movement and the Strategy for the Current Stage

Introduction

Indeed all praises are due to Allaah. We praise Him, we seek His help, and we ask for His forgiveness. We seek protection in Allaah from the evil of ourselves and from the evil of our deeds. Whomever Allaah guides there is none to misguide him and whomever He misguides there is none to guide him. I bear witness that there is no deity worthy of worship but Allaah, alone, without partners, and I bear witness that Muhammad is His slave and messenger.

Allaah, the Exalted, has blessed us in these times with a significant level of dominance - the likes of which have rarely been seen since the fall of the Khilaafah nearly a century ago. Therefore, keeping this new reality in mind, we must give proper thanks and perform righteous actions in proportion to what is deserving of this blessing of dominance.

Allaah, the Exalted, says about those to whom He has given permission to fight (those who give victory to Allaah and those to whom He gives victory) that they are:

"The ones who, if We establish them in the land, they establish the prayer and give the charity and order with goodness and prohibit the evil. And to Allaah belongs the end of all affairs." (Surah an-Nuur: 41)

And Allaah, the Exalted, says:

"Then We made you to be the successors in the earth after them in order that We may see how you would perform." (Surah Yunus: 14)

In the *tafsiir* of at-Tabari:

“Abu Ja’far said: Allaah, the Exalted, said: Then we made you, Oh mankind, successors after these generations of people that We destroyed once they had oppressed – you will succeed them in the earth and live therein after them – in order that We may see how you would perform. He says: In order that your Lord may see how your actions compare to the actions of those who were destroyed before you, from the many nations, due to their sins and disbelief in their Lord. Will you do as they did and deserve the same punishment that they deserved, or will you oppose their path and believe in Allaah and His Messenger and believe in the resurrection

after death and deserve a great reward from your Lord?” (Tafsiir at-Tabari vol. 15 p. 38)

Due to this, I merely wanted to shed light on the path for the respected scholars and the heroic Mujaahidiin in order that I may direct them to what I see is most appropriate during this time and during this new stage. I named this book: “The Vision of the Jihaadi Movement and the Strategy for the Current Stage,” and I tried to explain the goal that we are striving, and fighting, to obtain and the path that will lead to it.

I hope that the noble reader will put forward all of his advices and recommendations and all of his productive criticisms. Because I am only a human - I make mistakes and I get things right – and the only intent behind all of this – after the pleasure of Allaah the Exalted – is to spark a calm debate and a beneficial discussion about this topic; out of love and support of this religion. And success is but from Allaah.

Abu Jihaad ash-Shaami
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The Vision of the Jihaadi Movement and the Strategy for the Current Stage

First of all, the term vision should be defined:

Linguistically, it simply means to see with the eyes (or maybe with insight metaphorically), but the intended meaning of this term here is to look towards the far-off distance and to choose the overall goal upon which all other goals are based.

Here are some of the required attributes of a successfully chosen vision:

1. That it be something legislated in the religion.
2. That it be challenging but not beyond ability.
3. That it be clear.
4. That it be concise, short, and easy to remember.
5. That it be all-inclusive without being too wordy, and restrictive without too many details.
6. That it be constructed in such a way that it stimulates energy and enthusiasm and thrusts everyone to adopt it as their vision for their own lives.
7. That it always be treated as the decisive determiner of all decisions.

As for strategy:

It is a Latin word that is said to originate from the word: ‘the general;’ although, there are other interpretations as well. At any rate, the modern usage of the term refers to: the means used, and the proposed plan, to actualize the chosen vision and it is usually made up of many tactics.

With that in mind, it is now necessary to differentiate between the vision and the strategy:

The strategy is to the vision as tactics are to the strategy, because the strategy can be changed once it is no longer suitable to the vision that is sought after. However, the vision must be more static than that because changing the vision is, in fact, a complete change of direction in one’s life. Changing the vision leads to changing all of the strategies and tactics that were placed to achieve the vision. This is because from the attributes of a vision – as we have explained above – is that it is the decisive determiner for setting the course and for taking all decisions.

Also, from the essential differences between the strategy and the vision is that the strategy only answers the question: ‘What?’ but does not answer the question: ‘Why?’ Therefore, the strategy is usually a long list of goals and plans while the vision is always short, concise, and clear; indicating the purpose behind all of those intermediate goals.

This difference is extremely important because people can not develop a strong emotional relationship towards a simple listing of future steps and strategies. Yet, it is from the most important attributes of the vision that it stimulates energy and enthusiasm, raises aspirations, and pulls at the heart strings.

With that said, it becomes easy for us to decide our vision as the Jihaadi Movement:

First, I would like to affirm that the highest goal for every Muslim is to please Allaah, the Exalted, and to succeed in obtaining Firdaws. Allaah, the Exalted, said:

“And pleasure from Allaah is greater. That is the grand success.”
(Surah at-Tawbah: 72)

And the Prophet (S) said:

“If you ask of Allaah, then ask for Firdaws, because it is the centermost part of Paradise and it is the uppermost part of Paradise.” (Sahiih al-Bukhaari, the Book of Jihaad, the Chapter of the Levels of the Mujaahidiin in the Path of Allaah)

However, these goals can not be reached except by performing pleasing actions and by choosing other intermediate goals which are in accordance with these more lofty goals.

Allaah, the Exalted, has clarified for us this path in His Noble Book when He said:

“And I have not created the Jinn and Mankind except for them to worship Me.”
(Surah adh-Dhaariyaat: 56)

Therefore, servitude to Allaah, alone, without partners, is the active goal of the Believer in this life. Based upon that servitude, and in accordance to its strength, will the Believer attain the highest levels in the next life.

As it is well-known to any entry-level student of the Salafi Creed, worship is a general term that includes everything that Allaah, the Exalted, loves of actions and statements, whether apparent or concealed. Therefore, servitude is not limited to prayer, charity, fasting, and pilgrimage. Rather, included under the term ‘worship’ is Jihaad in the path of Allaah, love for the sake of Allaah and enmity for the sake of Allaah, calling to Allaah, removing oppression, judging by the Shari’ah, and ordering the good and forbidding the evil.

Also included under the term ‘worship’, by default, is the action which must be considered the head of this entire affair. Indeed it is the struggle to return the system which is necessary for the establishment of all of these obligations: the rightly-guided Islaamic Khilaafah. This is from the most obligatory of obligations and it is the first action that the companions (may Allaah be pleased with them) performed after the death of the Prophet (S). It was due to this important action that they delayed burying the

Prophet's (S) noble body. The proofs for this goal, and the proofs that indicate that it is a firm pillar of this religion, are innumerable.

Furthermore, this brings us to an important point. The vision and the strategy, and every step for that matter, must be determined solely upon what is dictated by the Shari'ah. I don't mean to simply bring a proof here and there in passing. Rather the proofs from the Shari'ah should be the number one determiner:

“And if you differ about something then refer it back to Allaah and the Messenger if you indeed believe in Allaah and the last day. That is best and the finest resort.”
(Surah an-Nisaa': 59)

Unfortunately, however, most of us look at our situation and look towards military and political doctrine before looking at what has been made obligatory upon us, and what has been made impermissible for us, in the Shari'ah.

With that in mind, here are some of the proofs for the obligation of establishing the Khilaafah, from the book “Announcing to Mankind the Birth of the Islaamic State” (The Chapter of the Importance of the State and the Ummah's Need for One; the Obligation of the Establishment of the Islaamic State)

(** It should be noted that these proofs originally indicate the obligation of establishing the Khilaafah – because the unity of the Muslim Ummah is from the greatest of obligations – and they only prove the establishment of an 'Islaamic State' as an alternative to the Khilaafah in the case of extreme necessity):

“The issue of the obligation of establishing the Islaamic State is an obvious fact of the Shari'ah, however due to the fact that this subject has become extremely strange in these times it is befitting that we mention, in brief, some of the proofs that indicate this fact:

Allaah, the Exalted, said: “And remember when your Lord said to the angels: ‘I shall place in the earth a Khaliifah.’ They said: ‘Shall you place therein those who will cause corruption and spill blood while we glorify your praise and exalt you.’ He said: ‘Indeed, I know that which you do not know.’” (al-Baqarah : 30)

Al-Qurtubi said in his tafsir (1/302): “This verse is the foundational proof for instituting an Imaam and Khaliifah who must be obeyed. In doing so, the word of the Muslims is united and the appropriate rulings related to the Khaliifah are executed and carried out. And there is no difference of opinion about the obligation of this; whether that difference is between the Ummah as a whole or simply between the Imaams.”

Allaah, the Exalted, said in surah an-Nisaa': “Oh you who believe, obey Allaah and obey the Messenger and those in charge from amongst you.” (an-Nisaa' : 59).

The element of proof in this verse is that Allaah ordered that those in charge be obeyed and He made obedience to them subsidiary to the obedience of Allaah and His Messenger. It is further deduced that there can be no obedience until leadership is established which brings these people who are in charge into existence (i.e. the leaders, the politicians, and the scholars). And of course, without an Islaamic State, it is not possible to institute these leaders and therefore there can be no obedience to them. As a result, a huge objective of the Shari'ah will not be fulfilled.

Ash-Shiiraazi said in "at-Tabsirah," (1/407): "We say: this verse refers to obedience in matters of this life, matters of preparation, matters related to warfare and expeditions, and so forth. The proof is that Allaah made this something specific to the people in charge, and that which is specific to the people in charge is exactly what we have mentioned here (i.e. preparation of the army and attending to the worldly affairs)."

Allaah, the Exalted, said: "Indeed We have revealed to you the Book in truth in order that you may judge between mankind according to that which is shown to you by Allaah. And do not be a proponent for the betrayers." (an-Nisaa': 105)

The element of proof in this verse is that Allaah has revealed His Book that it may be a law and a criterion by which the life of mankind is maintained. He has ordered His Prophet (S) with this and it is something that can not be done without power and authority through which different departments are established to supervise the agencies that carry out judgments and executive duties. It is this reality which necessitates the establishment of a state which engages in all of these different types of duties and upholds them in accordance with that which pleases Allaah.

Allaah, the Exalted, said: "And that you judge between them according to what Allaah revealed; and do not follow their desires and be cautious of them that they misguide you to leave part of that which Allaah has revealed to you. And if they turn away then know that Allaah only wishes to afflict them with some of their sins. And indeed much of mankind is of the sinful. Is it the legislation of Jaahiliyyah then that they seek? And who is better than Allaah in judgment for those who have certainty?" (al-Maa'idah : 49)

There are also the verses of Allaah, the Exalted, found in near succession in surah a-Maa'idah: "And whoever does not judge by that which Allaah has revealed then they are the disbelievers" (verse : 44) "And whoever does not judge by that which Allaah has revealed then they are the oppressors" (verse : 45) "And whoever does not judge by that which Allaah has revealed then they are the sinful." (verse : 47)

The element of proof in these verses is exactly the same as what has preceded in regards to the previous verse.

The hadiihs about the obligation of obeying the Imaams have also reached the level of Mutawaatir and they indicate the obligation of establishing the State

which executes the full range of political duties. From these hadiiths are the following:

The hadiith of Anas as reported by al-Bukhaari in marfuu' fashion: "Hear and obey even if an Ethiopian slave, whose head looks like a raisin, is placed over you, so long as he establishes the Book of Allaah amongst you."

And it is reported in the Sahiihayn from the hadiiths of Abu Hurayrah from the Prophet (S) that he said: "Whoever obeys me then he has obeyed Allaah, and whoever disobeys me has disobeyed Allaah. And whoever obeys the leader then he has obeyed me, and whoever disobeys the leader then he has disobeyed me."

It is also reported in the Sahiihayn from the hadiiths of ibn 'Umar from the Prophet (S) that he said: "It is upon the Muslim to hear and obey regarding that which he likes and that which he dislikes except if he is ordered to disobey. If he is ordered to disobey then there is no hearing and no obedience."

And the hadiiths about this topic are very numerous.

Shaykhul Islaam ibn Taymiyyah said in Majmuu' al-Fataawaa (28/390-392): "It is necessary to understand that having an organization to govern the affairs of mankind is from the greatest obligations of the religion; rather, neither matters of religion nor worldly affairs can endure without this. Because the best interests of mankind can not be realized unless they gather together to fulfill their collective needs. And if they gather together they must have a leader. The Prophet (S) even said: ((If three go out for a journey they should place one of them as the leader.)) Also, al-Imaam Ahmad reported in his Musnad from 'Abdullaah bin 'Amr that the Prophet (S) said: ((It is not permissible for three to reside in a deserted land except that they place one of them as their leader.)) So, the Prophet (S) made it obligatory that there be a leader even amongst a small group which has only come together temporarily for the purpose of traveling. He did this as an indication of the need for doing such in all other types of gatherings. Allaah, the Exalted, also made it obligatory to order the good and forbid the evil, and that can not occur without strength and leadership. This is also true regarding everything else that Allaah has made obligatory, such as: Jihaad, justice, pilgrimage, congregational prayers, the festivals, helping the oppressed, and establishing the huduud. Such obligations can not occur without strength and leadership..."

Then he continued: "...Therefore, it is obligatory to view leadership as a part of the religion and a means of coming closer to Allaah, because seeking to become close to Him through this - while obeying Him and obeying His Messenger - is from the most virtuous means of obtaining nearness."

Allaah's Messenger (S) said – according to what was reported by Ahmad from 'Abdullaah bin 'Amr – "It is not permissible for three to reside in a deserted land except that they place one of them as their leader."

And Allaah’s Messenger (S) said: “If three go out for a journey they should place one of them as their leader.” It was reported by Abu Daawuud from Abu Sa’iid, and he also reports a similar narration from Abu Hurayrah.

Ash-Shawkaani said in “Nayl al-Awtaar,” (9/157): “The chapter of the obligation of establishing the organization for judging and leadership and so forth,” then he mentioned the previously mentioned hadiihs. Then he said: “If it is legislated for three people in a deserted land or for three traveling then it goes without saying that it is legislated for a larger number of people living in villages and cities who need to remove oppression and settle disputes. In this there is a proof for the opinion of those who say that it is obligatory for the Muslims to institute Imaams, Waalis, and Haakims.”

Abu al-Mu’aali al-Juwayni said in “Ghiyaath al-Umam,” (1/15): “Therefore, instituting the Imaam, when able to do so, is obligatory.”

Al-Maawardi said in “al-Ahkaam as-Sultaaniyyah” (1/5): “Leadership has been placed in order to succeed the prophet-hood in performing the duties of protecting the religion and tending to the worldly affairs. Sanctioning the leadership of someone who will lead the Ummah is obligatory by consensus.”

Al-Qala’i said in “Tahdhiib ar-Riyaasah wa Tartiiib as-Siyaasah” (74): “The entire Ummah is agreed – except for those whose difference does not count – that, in general, it is obligatory to institute an Imaam; despite differing over his attributes and conditions. Therefore, I say: having order in matters of religion and matters of this worldly life is something to be sought after and it will not be obtained without an Imaam who is physically present. And if we did not say that it is obligatory to have an Imaam, such an opinion would lead to constant dispute and fighting until the Day of Judgement. If the people do not have an Imaam who they obey then the nobility of Islaam will be lost.”

Therefore, the rightly-guided Islaamic Khilaafah is the vision of the Jihaadi Movement...

But what is the real meaning behind this weighty word that we hear on the tongues of so many people in these times? :

With extreme brevity, my response to this question is that the rightly-guided Islaamic Khilaafah means to govern the entire earth with all of the Shari’ah revealed by Allaah to His Prophet (S).

This, no doubt, is something acceptable to all of the Mujaahidiin in this day and age. However, whether we accept it or not, we – or at least most of us – have made our real and practical vision (and not the theoretical one) something other than this, due to one form of drifting or another. The reason for this drift – according to my humble opinion –

is mixing up the meaning of strategy with the meaning of vision and not understanding the differences between them (which have been explained previously).

The different ways of drifting away from the original vision:

For example: the strategy of al-Qaa'idah, as it is well-known to the whole world, is to attack the Western interests throughout the world in order to awaken the Ummah and remove the power that protects the thrones of the oppressive Taaghuts of our own races.

This strategy was an incredibly genius innovation when it was first conceived, but it is necessary for us to understand that holding on to this particular strategy is not a goal in and of itself. Because, as you can see clearly, this is a strategy that has the necessary attribute of being global, but the issue of establishing the Shari'ah is only a bi-product of the actual strategy and it is not its core.

No one has a doubt that Shaykh Usaamah and Shaykh Ayman and the rest of the leadership of al-Qaa'idah want the Islaamic Khilaafah and to establish the Shari'ah. Rather, they are constantly announcing that they are working towards the goal of returning the Khilaafah and uniting the Ummah. However, due to not differentiating between the strategy and the vision we have forgotten this point when it comes down to the actual application. We – and I mean many of the Mujaahidiin – have made our vision and our goal simply harming the interests of the Kuffaar throughout the world without focusing on the importance of establishing the Shari'ah. Therefore, it is more befitting of us that we remember that this strategy was only placed as a means of facilitating the establishment of the Shari'ah and the establishment of the Khilaafah.

In contrast: we find that the strategy of the Taliban in Afghanistan (or the Islaamic State of 'Iraq, or Chechnya, or al-Maghrib al-Islaami, or Somalia) is that they are striving to remove the occupier from their lands (or to remove the apostate regimes) in order to establish an Islaamic Emirate which establishes the Shari'ah.

This strategy has a huge political advantage (not to mention the Shar'i one) which is to show the strength of Islaam and the Muslims (and especially the strength of the Mujaahidiin) through announcing an Islaamic Emirate and through engaging practically in the establishment of the Shari'ah. However, due to the nature of local conflict, and due to becoming pre-occupied with removing the occupier, the issue of making the conflict global has become merely a bi-product of the strategy, and not its core. Therefore, it is more befitting of us that we direct all of these victories and gains towards one unified project as opposed to having multiple different projects (even if it is from our plans to unite these projects later on down the line.)

It's important to note here that removing the occupier and gaining control over the land can actually pre-occupy us from establishing the Shari'ah at times. It is also important to beware of becoming too eager to control all of the lands that fall within the boundaries of Sykes Peko, or of becoming too eager to establish control over a certain group of people. This eagerness can pre-occupy us from our real goals which could possibly be obtained through having control of only a very small area of land.

**** Sykes Peko:** is a phrase which is made up of the names of two *Kaafirs* (a British man and a French man) who signed a deal between Britain and France that split-up the Islaamic World between the two countries after the fall of the Ottoman Empire just after the First World War.

I reiterate again that I do not doubt the intentions of our Mujaahidiin brothers and I do not accuse them of not wanting the rightly-guided Islaamic Khilaafah. Rather, they constantly announce that they are working towards that goal and they say that they are fighting in such and such place while their eyes are on Palestine, and so forth. However, as I mentioned earlier, due to not differentiating between the strategy and the vision we – and I mean many of the Mujaahidiin in these lands of Jihaad and not all of them – have forgotten this point. Instead we made our vision and practical goal simply establishing the Shari'ah in one particular land from the many lands on Earth (and then spreading out from there to the surrounding areas) without, first and foremost, looking towards the importance of making the conflict global.

In order to explain this point further I would like to return back to the strategy of al-Qaa'idah and the important innovation I mentioned previously. Just as Shaykh Abu Mus'ab as-Suuri (may Allaah hasten his release) explained in his book "Da'watul Muqaawamah," the generations before the 'Manhattan Raid,' used to focus on having a regional Jihaad to dethrone the local Taaghoots; without focusing on their masters from the West who are capable of replacing them with different apostates according to the need and the situation. Then came the idea of al-Qaa'idah which made the conflict global and changed the goal to chopping off the head of the snake and, with that, we moved into a new stage for the Jihaadi Movement.

If we look closely at this example, we can't find a large difference between the two strategies; while we are completely certain that the vision behind both of them is the same vision. All of them want to establish the Khilaafah, all of them have enmity for America and the West, and all of them admit that it is obligatory to wage Jihaad against them. However, the secret to this whole matter lies in how the priorities are listed and how some goals are placed as more important than others. So, al-Qaa'idah made the far enemy more important than the near enemy while the older organizations had made the

near enemy more important than the far one. By making this simple change we escaped a huge disaster and a great danger that would have befallen the Jihaadi Movement.

It is important here to indicate a common attribute shared by both strategies and visions, which is: that they are both set further into the horizon than tactics and other short-term goals. So, if we wanted to attack the Kuffaar, for example, at some particular base of theirs and we discussed between ourselves which method to use to execute the operation and which weapon would be best, some of us could propose a martyrdom operation, others a raid, and yet others a sniping operation. If we were to succeed in killing the enemy by any of these methods, whichever it may be, there wouldn't be such a large difference between these different methods and history wouldn't place any importance on the actual choice that was made. However, when we make martyrdom operations a broad strategy that we intend to use in high concentrations (as was the choice of Abu Mus'ab az-Zarqaawi – may Allaah have mercy on him – in Iraq) then the difference between the resultant product of this choice and the product of other choices would become as clear as day.

The secret behind this can also be explained better with an example. Lines in Geometry are characterized as being infinite. With that said, if we were to visualize two, ever so slightly, skewed lines, we could say that there is hardly any difference worth mentioning between them, from the perspective of a near distance. However, if we were to follow these infinite lines into the far distance we would find that these two lines eventually end up in completely different places with a great distance between the two.

No one should understand from these words about the vision being far off that it is a must that the vision only be fulfilled in the far off future or that it is not possible to fulfill it in the near future. No. The point here is that the vision is the furthest goal, but once it is possible to fulfill it, it is from the most obligatory of obligations to do so and it is not permissible to delay it without a strong Shar'i reason.

Therefore, once we mix up the strategy with the vision, or once we make our vision, for example, simply attacking the Kuffaar all over the world, in the end we will find that we are busy starting up new fronts and chasing out the Kuffaar without any focus on the necessary infrastructure for establishing the Islaamic Khilaafah and we could miss out on harvesting the fruits of our work. The other movements could take advantage of the safety and stability in order to establish secular states; just like what transpired after the first Jihaad against the colonialists.

If we make our vision simply removing the occupier and establishing Islaamic Emirates that establish the Shari'ah (each Emirate in its own particular land) then in the end we will lose the important element of being global which is necessary for establishing the Khilaafah. Based on that, we could even go on to make some decisions that might harm

the Muslims as a united Ummah. We could also be afflicted with a type of feeling of seclusion from the other Emirates and lands of Jihaad. This is because there will always be conflicting interests between those lands of Jihaad due to the differences that exist between the different regions and due to the differences between the scales of power that exist therein, and so forth and so on to all the other matters that can never be held constant. So, these conflicting interests could lead to conflicting policies...rather, they could lead to completely contradictory directions.

For example, the present safe haven of al-Qaa'idah is the tribal region in Pakistan. So, in order for them to continue their global Jihaad (and even in order for them to escape annihilation) they must come into conflict with the apostate regime there. However, the Taliban, for example, may prefer focusing their efforts on the enemy that is currently occupying Afghanistan, as opposed to opening up new fronts on the side.

Even within the tribal areas itself, one particular tribe could prefer to have a cease-fire with the government in order to obtain an opportunity to regroup, while another tribe may already be ready to fight in order to retake some strategic territory or in order to get the initiative and flip the scales of the war against the enemy. So who will judge over this matter and who will make the appropriate decision and who will unite the efforts of the Muslims? Will the Mujaahidiin split up just like the Ikhwaan split up in Syria, Egypt, and Jordan, in order to make it easy upon themselves to maneuver without the constraints of having to come to a group decision?

The point here is that taking the establishment of the Khilaafah as the vision of the Jihaadi Movement (and I mean the real, practical, and realistic vision) means to make a strategic change in our priorities. So, despite how delicate the linguistic difference may seem, this change will cause a huge transition and it will save us from a huge danger by causing us to enter a new stage from the historical stages of the Jihaadi Movement (the stage of fulfilling the vision).

And all of this can never be fulfilled unless we understand completely the importance of prioritizing our goals, as has already proceeded. It will also not be fulfilled unless the necessary steps are taken to fulfill the vision. Simply talking does not benefit anything at all in the real world. Talk can only benefit if its result is to inspire actions, raise aspirations, and stimulate enthusiasm for the goal.

I must point out here that humans have a strange capacity for self-delusion. For example, someone can say with his own tongue that: “Every soul shall taste death,” and he could swear to this reality with all kinds of oaths; however, his actions indicate that he believes that he will live in this life forever! He could repeat over and over in his sittings the importance of piety, and he could see himself as the most pious of mankind, while he is the one in most need of having piety of Allaah. A foolish person can be reminded over and over about the evils of reckless spending while he falls into the vilest forms of it every day. Someone who speaks in a loud voice can be told to quiet down a thousand times in just one sitting, each time occurring after only a one minute interval, but he does not realize! And so on and so forth. So beware of falling into mentioning the Khilaafah without acting upon what that word necessitates. Beware of taking this issue lightly and beware of not fixing the shortcomings due to how often they are repeated or due to relying upon the false feeling that everything is going in the right direction.

Now, the question that nearly asks itself is: what are the necessary steps for fulfilling this vision? Or, in other words, what is the strategy?

The answer – as I see it, and I ask the reader to share his opinion – is that we should combine between the two parts of the vision (the element of having a global conflict and the element of establishing the Shari’ah) both at once; while always reminding ourselves, before others, that these two elements are merely two sides of the same coin that can not be separated.

The method I propose to reach this goal is to strive in opening safe havens for the Mujaahidiin – not solely for the purpose of taking control of land, not solely for the purpose of establishing Shari’ah, not solely for the purpose of attacking the far enemy, and not solely for the purpose of spreading out throughout the land – rather, for the purpose of constructing the infrastructure for the rightly-guided Islaamic Khilaafah.

Someone might ask: what is the meaning of the infrastructure for the rightly-guided Islaamic Khilaafah? Is it building roads and bridges? Or constructing advanced factories and planning agricultural projects? Or is it building industrial plants to produce weapons and tanks? Or is it opening high-tech hospitals and new schools?

The answer: is that these things are not the infrastructure, but rather they are the effects of the infrastructure, or you could say they are the bi-products. The actual infrastructure, however, is that which I will summarize here into two words: men and money.

And I was utterly amazed by Shaykh Abu Sa’d al-‘Aamili because he explained this concept, in his book “‘Awaamil an-Nuhuudh wa Shuruutuhu,” with words that should be written in gold:

“Preparing the Infrastructure:

Working to change the reality we live in is a matter which calls for **many bases which can be considered the backup that the Mujaahidiin go back to and the safe haven from which the soldiers take-off to execute their missions.**

The war we are fighting with the enemy is hit and run and these bases are necessary to protect our backs from the enemy and to return back to them for preparations and for planning out affairs far out of the enemy’s sight.

Every Jihaadi group should have aspirations as large and weighty as the religion they carry and the religion they are striving to apply in real life. Therefore, these groups are required to meet all of the pre-requisites that this large and weighty mission calls for.

The first building block, and the foundational one, which must be obtained, is a righteous wife, upon whom, will fall the heavy burden of education, upbringing, developing, da’wah, and Jihaad...”

And...

“It is upon the Jihaadi group, after that, to provide special schools just for educating and developing the young children who will later carry the burden of da’wah and Jihaad some years down the line. It is not befitting to simply suffice with the soldiers that we have at present because Jihaad exhausts the supply of men through martyrdom and imprisonment. Therefore, it is necessary and obligatory to train the generations that will carry the banner after these men. It is also befitting that schools and institutes be established to train callers and educators who will be from amongst the group and who have not been affected by the tainted environment around them nor did they drink from its polluted springs. Rather, instead, they drank from the pure spring of Islaam and they graduated from the school of trials, tribulations, siege, and estrangement.

It is also necessary to train the men in these Jihaadi groups completely and categorically in the sense that they will be able to attend to their worldly affairs by working in light crafts, or electronics, or media, or teaching languages in order that they may become self-sufficient in all matters and that they know the different types of knowledge that are in demand in order to aid the Jihaad.

It is similarly important to have places of training for all of the different levels and for all of the different arts of fitness and war; starting from physical fitness gyms – especially those providing martial arts for the children – all the way to real training camps that teach the art of war and all of the available weapons.

Training knights and soldiers must be done by progressing from the elementary stages of preparation on to the actual practical application in the battlefield, in the

lands of Jihaad where the soldiers of truth are at war with the soldiers of falsehood. It is there that the correct development and the true training can be completed by removing the barriers of fear of the enemy and fear of death. In this way the Mujaahidiin will develop and they will make large gains towards achieving the awaited victory.

Therefore, in closing, it is clear to us that training men is from the most important pillars of the triumph we hope for. It is with men that the roads can be opened and the physical barriers can be removed. Yes, with men we can destroy the mountains and do the impossible.

They are the real capital for any group gathered together on the basis of *Imaan*. Therefore, we should strive in educating, developing, and training them according to the aforementioned stages; because, by Allaah, I do not see except trials and tribulations in the near horizon.

“And Allaah will give victory to those who give victory to Him. Indeed Allaah is the Most-Powerful the All-Mighty.” (al-Hajj : 40)”

Then he said:

“Fourthly: Constant Funding:

There is no real meaning to Jihaad without wealth. Rather, there is no Jihaad at all if there is no money to cover its different needs. It comes as no surprise that Jihaad with one’s wealth is mentioned before Jihaad with one’s self in the Book of Allaah: “Wage Jihaad with your wealth and your selves in the path of Allaah” and He said: “Shall I guide you to a transaction that will save you from a severe torment? Believe in Allaah and His Messenger and wage Jihaad in the path of Allaah with your wealth and your selves.” And He said: “Go forth, light and heavy, and wage Jihaad with your wealth and your selves in the path of Allaah.” Furthermore, there are many verses about Jihaad in which Jihaad with one’s wealth is placed before Jihaad with one’s self.

Jihaad takes different forms and covers different areas, and each stage of its stages calls for constant funding. Therefore, it is impossible for a Mujaahid to make a move with out financial backing.

Even in the stage of training, for example, the Mujaahidiin are in a state of pre-occupation with and focus upon the issues related to their training and preparation for battles. It is impossible, in such a case, to ask these Mujaahidiin to also take care of their financial needs during these exercises. Rather, it is instead necessary that there be a special group whose job is simply fund-raising.

And the sources of finances must be multiple without being mutually tied together in order to make sure that they are constant. It is also necessary that there be secrecy

in the matters of finances because the enemy is always trying to destroy the Jihaadi groups by cutting off their finances and causing their movements to become paralyzed leaving them weak and caged.”

Someone may ask: What is new about this proposal?

The answer lies in going back to what we have already explained about the importance of prioritizing when choosing the path and the destination.

For example: Let’s say that we took control of a particular area...what should we do after that? Should we immediately plunge into new battles or should we first focus upon establishing all of the Shari’ah in the most complete way? Should we spread out from that area as a conventional army or should we send people individually to do outside operations? Should we focus on establishing secret camps far away from the populous or should we focus on calling the people to the religion? Also, if we open up camps should we focus on teaching military sciences or the sciences of the Shari’ah?

It is easy for us to simply say: We will do all of that because there is no contradiction here!

This is correct from one angle. However, we do not want empty speech or scattered efforts. The important point here lies in the focus and the order of our priorities.

My view is that the focus should be upon establishing the launching pad, building the infrastructure, and making the rear head quarters, instead of focusing upon expanding the area of control before fully taking benefit of the lands that are already present and before obtaining the materials needed to administer these new gains. This is done by establishing the Shari’ah, increasing propagation, improving the administration and management, and by fully learning the sciences of the Shari’ah before other military and worldly sciences.

In this way we will raise the level of the Mujaahidiin as well as the level of the populous all at once and we will enter the stage of having a Jihaad that is fought by the entire Ummah (just as Abu Mus’ab as-Suuri explained in his book *Da’watul Muqaawamah* and just as can be found in the book of Abu Bakr Naaji: *Idaarat at-Tawahhush*) and we will receive monetary funds from Zakaah, charitable donations, and investments (in business, agriculture, livestock, etc.) and we will reach the level of self-sufficiency which is necessary to spread out to the other lands.

Self-sufficiency was one of the biggest reasons for the spread of the Tartars through the land in such a short amount of time. In contrast, the fact that they did not focus upon making their feet firm in those lands which they had newly conquered was from the biggest reasons for their defeat – which also took place in a very short amount of time.

Abu Bakr Naaji said in *Idaarat at-Tawahhush* (p. 47-48):

“As for the stage of “managing chaos” then at that point *polarization* will take on a whole new importance:

Once chaos has spread to different areas – whether we are the ones managing them or whether they are adjacent regions or far off regions – then a type of *polarization* amongst those who live in the places of chaos will begin automatically. The people will begin to cling to the leaders of the land, or the leaders of a political or Jihaadi organization, or a military organization which gathers the remaining army or police of the apostate regime – simply out of looking for some type of peace. At this point the first methods of *polarization* will begin and these groups will enter into alliance with the people of truth due to the fact that we have people looking after the good management of the areas under our control. This must also come along with strong media efforts to display the level of peace and justice - due to judging by the Shari’ah – and the level of support, training, preparation, and sophistication found in our regions. Through this first step we shall find – by the will of Allaah - that the youth of the other areas will migrate in droves to our areas to aid them and to live in them despite the overwhelming presence of loss of lives and wealth and the presence of pressure from the enemy.

The point here is that the first method of *polarization* in the stage of “managing chaos” is to perfect the management and administration of the areas under our control. As for the other methods of *polarization* in this stage then I shall summarize the most important of them as follows:

- Raising the level of *Imaan*. Raising the level of *Imaan* is the shortest route to *polarizing* the people who live in the areas we administrate. There is a difference between people accepting our administration in order to provide them safety and so forth and between people that enter our ranks, work towards our goals, and train and fight alongside us. Raising the level of a society’s *Imaan* in this stage makes it easy to *polarize* it’s members and enter them amongst our active ranks.
- Direct offers. In respect to *polarizing* the adjacent regions that are run by other organizations, then we have to send a messenger to those administrating

those areas in order to call them to entering into an alliance with the people of Tawhiid and Jihaad. We may find them afraid to completely unify with us because they will fear that the enemy will treat their areas just as they treat our areas. Therefore, we should focus on calling them to an alliance of a lesser degree: that they agree to uphold certain fundamentals of the Shari'ah. We may even find them afraid of this just as they were afraid of the previous proposal. In such a case we should move to the final stage which is to say: even if we understand their refusal of the two previous offers, we absolutely can not accept to hear that their area is being governed by other than the Shari'ah because their areas will become just like the areas of the enemies. If things remain at that minimum level then time will be in our favor – by the grace of Allaah – in building relations with those areas.

And from that which falls under this point is the fact that we will find areas that are under the management of tribes. The source of the strength of these tribes lies in resisting all other surrounding powers (such as the remaining apostates, bandits, and crusaders). Therefore, when addressing their customs we should not tell them to leave all of their traditions. Rather, we should take on these traditions and change them into praiseworthy traditions; because these tribes have strength and energy. So our offer should not seek to destroy that strength – regardless of how difficult that would be – because it's best to direct these traditions towards the path of Allaah; especially since they are already prepared to incur sacrifices for their principles and honor. This process could begin by softening the hearts of their leaders by giving them wealth and so forth. Then, after a while, when their followers have mixed with our followers and their hearts have tasted the sweetness of *Imaan*, we will find that their followers will not accept any orders that contradict the Shari'ah. Of course there will remain some of these traditions but they will become praiseworthy traditions as opposed to the blameworthy traditions they used to have.)

- Softening the heart with wealth. Once we begin to administer the areas – by the will of Allaah – monetary funds will begin to flow in from charity which will now become easier to acquire through means better than those presently available. We will also take the wealth of the financial institutions left behind by the apostate regimes who left the area as war booty. Of course these institutions will be small time or moderately sized. As for the corporations, the industries, and the major financial institutions (like oil companies and so forth) then the apostate regimes will gather all of their forces together to protect them.

Of course there will be expenses, rights that belong to the people, and compensations that have to be paid before anything, but if we manage well and if we economize our usage of these sources of income we will be able to save some of the income for attending to the needs of this Islaamic endeavor. At that point those firmly grounded in knowledge from the people of Tawhiid

and Jihaad should explain and lay the groundwork for the details of how some of this wealth can be spread to the chiefs and elders in order to soften their hearts in order for them to enter into an alliance with our administration. These details and rules should be explained clearly and publicly to avoid any hard feelings.”

Muhammad bin Khaliil al-Hakaayimah said in his book: “Towards a New Strategy” (p. 14-15):

“The Muslim Ummah has reached a state of boiling over - due to the aggression from the outside and the oppression from the inside. It is, therefore, obligatory upon the Mujaahidiin, who make up the vanguard of the Ummah, to use this boiling state in the correct manner: to transform the energy of this angry Ummah into an effective correctional movement which will cause the Ummah to reach a state of victory- by the will of Allaah. If the Mujaahidiin are striving to establish an Islaamic Emirate upon the Prophetic methodology after freeing the lands of occupation then that goal can not be accomplished by the Movement of the Mujaahidiin so long as they are isolated from the support of the general population. Even if the Jihaadi Movement used the method of causing a surprise military coup, this coup would not be complete without at least the minimum level of support necessary from the general population because it will become the deciding factor between victory and defeat. Therefore, in the absence of this support from the general population the Movement of the Mujaahidiin will be swept away into the darkness far away from the populous which is busy trying to secure the daily bread. In such a case, the conflict will be limited to the Elite Mujaahidiin and the Arrogant Regime in the privacy of the prisons far from publicity and the light of day. This is exactly what the Secular Force which occupies our lands is seeking to do. This force does not hope to completely annihilate the Movement of the Mujaahidiin but it is trying with all its might to isolate it from the Muslim Populous who have been misinformed and who live in fear. Therefore, in our planning, we should seek to bring the Muslim Populous in the fight and we should lead the Movement of the Mujaahidiin to the Populous instead of leading it towards a fight far away from the Populous. The Muslim Populous is not instigated – for too many reasons to list here – except by the presence of a foreign occupier; especially if that enemy is a Jewish one, which is the worst, or if that enemy is America, which is the second worst. This is the reason for the support from the general population that the Mujaahidiin in Iraq, Palestine, and Afghanistan are enjoying.

This Shari’ah-based Emirate that we are striving for also needs a political effort which runs hand in hand with the military effort. The core of this political effort should be the Mujaahidiin and they should be surrounded by the tribes and its elders, noteworthy people, scholars, businessmen, people of insight, and any noble people who have allegiance for those who defend Islaam and who have not been polluted by the occupation. We must understand the full parameters of this battle between truth and falsehood while keeping an eye on the balances of power, the allegiances allowed by the Shari’ah, and the jurisprudence of neutrality and attack. When

studying our situation, we should also not be caught unaware of the strength of our enemy. We should know who is truly with us, in a warfare sense, and who is against us and who is neutral, sitting and watching, waiting only to follow the winner.

The world looks at change from the perspective of the strength that is backing it and it does not see any success without that. That is why the Ummah turned to the East one time, then to the West another, and then once the West became superior the Ummah turned to it entirely. Today the entire world is allied against us and the only ones against that alliance are not against it due to their love for us but rather their eagerness to have a larger share of the war booty (i.e. us). Seeing that we are looking for a sincere ally which will sacrifice itself for us without betraying us – which in short is nothing other than our own Islaamic Populous – and seeing that this conflict is a long one that could take a generation or more, it is not logical to continue acting in this reality far away from the Ummah or as its deputy; rather, the Jihaadi Movement is only the Vanguard for this Blessed Ummah. The populous that does not turn to this worldly life and is not stingy with its wealth and the blood of its sons is a populous that lives in honor and is capable of bringing about the change we seek. It is only in need of wise leadership, a clear vision to tread upon, and weapons in its hand to protect its progress and to crush its enemy.

Therefore, we stress the necessity of having the political effort in parallel with the military effort in unison and cooperation with everyone who has insight and can produce effects on the ground. We can not single out one particular political method, however, because each leader is best informed about his own particular arena, but he should always strive to have around him multiple rings of help and support from the general population. I strongly stress my warning of being separated from the masses.”

It is important here to study history and to look at the example of Shaykhul Islaam Muhammad bin ‘Abdul Wahhaab – may Allaah have mercy on him – and see how he built his state upon the strong foundation and the solid structure: educating the people about the Correct Creed, then acting upon what it necessitates... (A Guiding Book and a Victorious Sword). We should also not forget how the Imaam, Yahyaa bin Ibraahiim, built the state of the Muraabitiin by first establishing his famous *Ribaat* to teach the religion and then to fight Jihaad in the path of Allaah. The reality is that the Neo-Salafites have correctly pinpointed the cure for the Ummah “Purification and Education” but their understanding has fallen short in that they try to ignore the fact that the oppressive *Taaghuuts* will never let them fully spread the true, unadulterated, principles of this religion. Therefore, when these *Taaghuuts* try to stand in the way of Allaah we must carry the sword against them and against anyone else who is not guided by the good admonition. It is, however, a very big mistake to rely solely upon the sword without paying attention to the original cure: Da’wah. This is especially the case after Allaah has provided us safe havens free of the *Taaghuuts* who stand in the way of Allaah.

Someone may ask at this point: What about the outside threat? And where is the global aspect? :

The answer, once again, goes back to the issue of priorities. This focus does not mean that we stop military operations or that we should not spread out or that we should not open new fronts according to the need for such and according to the available resources. Rather, all of these things are encouraged and they are the reason for all of this preparation and all of this Da'wah and establishment of the Shari'ah. But it is necessary to have a launching pad, cadres, and wealth in order to lead those wars, or to open those fronts, or to execute outside operations. Without this launching pad, this training, and this wealth, all other goals will be nothing more than hot air and dreams and all of these efforts will collapse from within before they are even started.

And when we talk about spreading out, it's better to focus on spreading unconventionally as opposed to spreading conventionally due to the effectiveness of Guerilla Warfare and outside operations and also due to our weak situation at present (and I mean in a relative sense because our situation also has aspects of dominance). Conventional methods should only be used at our last line of defense in the case that the enemy broke through all of our mobile fronts and in the case that the enemy was not stopped by our outside operations deep within the borders of his own land.

In summary: the launching pad will provide the cadres and the wealth necessary to achieve the dream of opening new fronts and executing outside operations and we will, therefore, provide the global aspect of the vision. In this way our goal of spreading out throughout the world will become a reality because it will be built upon the necessary resources to do that and because we will focus on spreading unconventionally deep into enemy territory.

I do not intend to state here that the borders of the state should never be spread conventionally in an absolute sense. Rather, I intend to say that the enemy should be sufficiently weakened first – from the very heart if possible – before going on to actually capturing lands. Spreading out too quickly could actually lead to a quicker and larger retreat! Also, seeing that the enemy is currently occupying much of our lands with its limited army – from the perspective of size and resources – it will not be able to fight on multiple fronts on all different sides of the world. Therefore, very small work from our side – which is spread out according to carefully studied plans – can cause the enemy to become completely embarrassed and it can cause the enemy to become dragged down into many small battles which will break its back by the will of Allaah.

It is important to stress here – once again – that the point behind all of this lies in the way we arrange our priorities. Someone may respond to this by saying that: All of the Mujaahidiin are agreed about opening fronts and executing outside operations but they are only being held back by the chains of necessity and other obstacles.

I am referring here to a case that we can visualize in which the state of affairs are fairly stable (and I don't mean that the enemy doesn't exist or that the enemy is not attacking)...in such a case if we were to have a camp with trainers and trainees would we focus on conventional training with conventional weapons or would we focus on the training and weapons suitable for special forces? Similarly if we have a decent number of cadres should we employ them in spreading our borders and expanding our political activities or should we focus on entering deep into the enemy and opening new fronts around the world?

The difference between different strategies only becomes clear when there is a possibility of taking one of the two options and it will not be clear in the state of necessity (a lack of financial resources, cadres, and time). In the state of necessity everyone is busy striving simply to survive and there is nothing more important than surviving.

However, we should beware of being the ones who manufacture this state of necessity with our own hands due to choosing to act chaotically or due to placing subsidiary issues high on our list of priorities. Sometimes a state of necessity may seem to exist while it does not actually exist in reality; rather it is a psychological state that we have forced upon ourselves. And Allaah is the One from whom we seek help.

And to complete the answer, it is necessary to add another step in order to obtain the global aspect (and to unify our efforts) which is:

... To give *Bay'ah*!

Yes, simply talking about Khilaafah is not sufficient without taking the necessary steps towards establishing it. What is the Khilaafah without a Khaliifah?!

If someone were to respond to this by saying: 'How can someone claim to be the Khaliifah while he does not have authority over all of the Muslims?' I would also ask him: 'How can someone claim to be Amiir al-Mu'miniin in his Emirate while there is another man who claims to be Amiir al-Mu'miniin in his own respective Emirate?' If the answer is that this has come about due to the bitter reality we live in then this, too, is the answer to the issue of having a Khaliifah who does not have authority over all of the Muslims!

The rightly guided Khaliifah 'Ali bin Abii Taalib – may Allaah be pleased with him – was not in authority over all of the Muslim lands or over all of the Muslims. Al-Hasan and 'Abdullaah bin az-Zubayr – may Allaah be pleased with them – are similar examples. Even Abu Bakr – may Allaah be pleased with him – was tried with the Wars of Apostasy (like the wars we are currently caught up in) and 'Umar – may Allaah be pleased with him – was killed in the Masjid in the capital of the Khilaafah by a fire-worshipper and

‘Uthmaan – may Allaah be pleased with him – was killed in his house by the Khawaarij. Even the Prophet – may Allaah send peace and *salaah* upon him – used to have trouble with the Jews and the Hypocrites in his state in al-Madiinah!

So where is the condition of complete authority when announcing the Khilaafah?

The only condition for announcing the Khilaafah is to have considerable might. This considerable might does not include having authority over the Disbelievers and the Apostates who fight us (in any way whatsoever). It also does not include having authority over the Khawaarij and the Renegades. Rather it is enough - in order to decide which claimant to the Khilaafah is more entitled - simply to look at who is stronger in a relative sense. Whoever has more might and power and announces that he is the Khaliifah then it is obligatory upon the others (so long as this person fulfills the necessary conditions of this position) to give him Bay’ah in order to safeguard the unity of the Muslims.

If it so happens that this person does not meet the necessary requirements, it’s obvious then that he does not deserve to be the Khaliifah. On the other hand, if he meets the most obligatory of requirements, but he lacks some of the more recommended attributes, or if there is someone more entitled than him (while that person has claimed to be the Khaliifah despite having less power) then it is best for that person to give in to the more powerful of the two in order to protect the unity and the blood of the Muslims. That remains the case unless that person believes that the more powerful of the two will oppress the people and shed more blood, in which case it is permissible for him to resist. However, if he believes that resistance is not possible he should be patient in the face of the oppression.

Also, just as the objective behind announcing the Khilaafah, and giving *bay’ah* to the Khaliifah, is to unite the greatest number of Muslims possible, it’s befitting to look for the factors that they can all agree upon. From the wisdom of the Shari’ah and from these agreed upon factors is that the Khaliifah should be from Quraysh because it is the tribe of the Prophet (S). So, by merely making this simple choice we will have avoided many of the problems related to tribalism and racism. In order to not fall into the remaining problems of nationalism (or in order to avoid it as much as possible) I suggest that this Qurayshi be from the Arabian Peninsula: the peninsula of the two sacred lands (the *Haramayn*), the peninsula of the revelation, and the peninsula of the grave of the Prophet (S). I also support this suggestion with the hadith of the Prophet (S) found in Sahih Muslim:

“Indeed Islaam began as something strange and it will return to being something strange just as it began. And it will shrink back amongst the two Masjids just as the

snake shrinks back into its hole.” (Sahiih Muslim, the Book of *Imaan*, the Chapter of Explaining that Islaam Began as Something Strange)

It is also hidden to none that there are fierce battles playing out in Yemen these days and it is not to be discounted that they may have a strong safe haven in some of the tribal regions there. It is also beyond doubt that their popularity is growing daily (while the populace in the Peninsula is already practicing to some degree. Rather, many of them have even trained in Afghanistan!). Therefore, this choice is not as far off as some may think; especially if we remember that Somalia, the land of the Mujaahidiin, is only a few kilometers away from Aden (al-Abyan) and the Mujaahidiin in Somalia have conquered much of the land and Allaah has made them dominant therein.

As for not choosing Iraq (despite having a state and a Haashimi amiir), then the secret behind this is that there are many threats and upheavals in the region while there is no direct occupation in Yemen nor is there a strong Shi’ah state on its borders (except for the Zaydi resistance movement which does not equal the danger of the Raafidhis and the two states of Iran and Syria). Also, in Iraq there are historical ‘holy’ sites of the Shi’ah while in the Arabian Peninsula there are historical holy sites of Ahlus Sunnah. It’s also the case that the Jihaadi Movement has no other legitimate face other than al-Qaa’idah in the Arabian Peninsula (just like there is no other face other than the Shabaab in Somalia) while the Islaamic State of Iraq does not represent some of the groups of the Jihaadi Movement such as Ansaar as-Sunnah.

However...if the Khilaafah is announced in Iraq then that is also acceptable and it will be pleasing to the eyes of the Believers. Rather, it would have been better if they announced that in the first place as opposed to restricting themselves to the borders of Iraq. And Allaah Knows best.

It’s necessary to remind the reader here of some historical facts to ponder over:

The Muraabitiin were separated from the ‘Abbaasi Khilaafah by a great distance and it was very difficult to send a letter (or a delegation) due to the level of disconnection amongst the Muslims at that time (which roughly coincided with the time of the fall of al-Andalus) and also due to the lack of technology. I also should not forget here that the power of the Khaliifah at that time was far less than the power of the strong Muraabitiin. However, despite all of these tough circumstances, Yusuf bin Tashfiin did not hesitate to give *bay’ah* to the Khaliifah and he did not view these circumstances to be an obstacle in the way of Khilaafah; rather, instead, he strove to protect the unity of the Muslims.

We too are passing through a difficult period in time and it is also befitting for us to adjust to the circumstances and for us to find solutions that are appropriate to this crisis. We do not suffer a greater lack of technology than them (even considering the security measures) such that it could be said that it is impossible to contact the other lands of Jihaad. It is certainly within our capability to send some messages (even if it be through Jihaadi videos or through public addresses on the Internet) in order to unify our policies and to direct one another.

These affairs have to be dealt with in a just manner instead of constantly seeking to find excuses in the rulings pertaining to the state of weakness while attributes of dominance are also present. At-Tartuusi said in his book “al-Jihaad was-Siyaasah ash-Shar’iyyah” p. 19:

“On the other hand, those who live in the stages of strength and dominance and then try to apply the texts and rulings of the stages of weakness and oppression to their own situation...then they have fallen into a terrible Shari’i Fiqhi mistake and, from another angle, they have also fallen into laxity towards acting upon what is within their capability and what is obligatory upon them. The likeness of such people is the likeness of those who stay back from doing what is obligatory upon them in the Shari’ah...and without any valid excuse!

And I have not ceased to blame our brothers from the state of the Taliban – may Allaah give them back their state and dominance – when they announced their state as being the Islaamic Emirate of Aghanistan... which is only binding upon the Afghani Muslims ... and is not concerned with anything beyond the Afghani borders ... and it is not considered the Islaamic Khilaafah which tends to the affairs of all of the Muslims of the world nor is it binding upon them to do what is obligatory upon them in the Shari’ah regarding their Khilaafah and their Khaliifah such as obedience, support, and alliance. This was the case despite having the political, geographic, military, and human conditions necessary to allow them to announce such a thing!

If it is said: Are there rulings and texts that relate to the stages of oppression that are different than the rulings and texts which relate to the stages of strength and dominance?!

I say: Yes. From these texts and rulings that relate to the stages of weakness – without intending an extensive list – is the statement of Allaah, the Exalted: “There is no burden upon the weak, or the sick, or those who can not find anything to spend, if they are sincere to Allaah and His Messenger. There is no way against those who do goodness. And Allaah is the Most Forgiving, the Most Merciful,” (at-Tawbah : 91) and His statement: “There is no burden upon the blind, nor is there burden upon the crippled, nor is there burden upon the sick,” (an-Nuur : 61) and His statement: “Indeed those whose souls are taken while they are oppressing themselves, they say: ‘What situation were you in?’ They say: ‘We used to be oppressed in the earth.’ They say: ‘Wasn’t the earth of Allaah expansive enough that you may migrate therein?’ So it is those whose abode is the Hell-fire and what a terrible destination.” (an-Nisaa’ : 97). These here are the strong ones who wanted to apply the rulings of weakness to themselves, but they were not excused, rather, instead, Allaah uncovered their lies when they claimed to be oppressed. The likeness of these people is the likeness of the one who is capable while he seeks to run away from Shar’i responsibilities under the pretext of being weak and oppressed while he is not truly weak or oppressed; rather, he is only pretending to be weak and oppressed. As

for those who are truly oppressed then they are included in the statement of Allaah, the Exalted: “Except for the oppressed from the men, women, and children who have no means nor do they know the way,” (an-Nisaa’ : 98). Those are the ones who will be excused if they stay back from migrating and if they stay back from Jihaad.”

There are many countries that have disconnected landmasses. During the era of the Ottoman Empire Austria, Sweden, Italy, and Spain were all one nation under the command of one King. How many European countries added far off lands to their empire in that age (such as Britain for example)? How many nations – even in our times – possess multiple islands that are far away from each other? And we should not forget that Syria and Egypt were one nation during the reign of Haafidh al-Asad and ‘Abd an-Naasir based on the ideology of Pan-Arabism.

And this characteristic (meaning: not having a geographically solid country) is not always a shortcoming. The far off distances between the different parts of one country are only harmful when those parts are all dependant upon one another and when the military strategy being employed requires fighting in the same ranks. As for fronts which are self-dependant and employ the strategy of unconventional warfare, then multiplicity is actually in the interests of those fronts at the expense of the enemy (especially if the occupying enemy claims to be a strong empire because it is not possible for it to turn a blind eye to an open revolt inside its empire).

I would also like to add here that I do not agree with the theory that it is befitting for us to establish multiple independent Islaamic Emirates first, and assume thereafter that all of these amiirs will somehow meet in one place to announce the Khilaafah:

However, I do not absolutely oppose the idea of these Emirates. Rather, if the conditions necessitate establishing them for a particular time then there is no harm in that. But, the real issue of debate here is giving precedence to that method over the method of unifying all of the fronts from the beginning.

The people who support this theory always envision a scenario in which all of the Mujaahidiin of all of the Emirates will meet up in al-Quds or al-Ka’bah or the like.

And it is befitting to remind ourselves here that always focusing on al-Quds is only from the many means of uniting the Ummah behind the goal of the Jihaadi Movement because many of the Muslims today do not see there to be any other enemy besides the Jews. But this does not mean that we must put all of our military and strategic focus on conquering al-Quds. Conquering the Ka'bah, for example, could actually be a greater means of unifying the Ummah (as is evident), while conquering al-Quds could present us more hardships; despite the fact that many of the Muslims are still not convinced that Aal Sa'uud are apostates.

These people also envision, based upon this, that the lands of the Muslims will all be regained at once. However, while it is possible for two fronts or two Emirates to meet up in al-Quds due to being so close to one another... can we really imagine that our brothers in China, India, Chechnya, and Morocco will all meet up in al-Quds or the Ka'bah at the same time?! This did not happen in the time of Salaah ad-Diin al-Ayuubi! Therefore, this idea is not very practical and there will always be some group of Muslims or some of the fronts disconnected. In that case, no matter how it actually happens we will still end up announcing the Khilaafah – most probably – before conquering and uniting all of the Muslim lands. So what are we waiting for?

I would also like to remind the dear reader that leadership is not an easy issue and Shaytaan flows in humans like their blood. Even the noble companions – may Allaah be pleased with them – differed over leadership. The Ansaar wanted to split the leadership after the death of the Prophet (S) and some of the members of the House of the Prophet (S) did not give *bay'ah* to Abu Bakr as-Siddiiq – may Allaah be pleased with him – at first. 'Ali and Mu'aawiyah also differed amongst themselves just as al-Hasan and Mu'aawiyah differed between themselves – may Allaah be pleased with all of them. It is not necessarily the case that these differences be the result of worldly aspirations. These differences could actually come from the belief of some of the leaders that the others are not able to carry out the responsibility in the best possible way. One leader could see that the others will not uphold the rights of the people in his area properly. Another leader could see that he was the first or that he is the best and the most deserving of the position according to the Shari'ah. So the more leaders there are, the more difficult it will be to unite them in the future.

Therefore, the best method is for us to agree upon one Khaliifah during this period of renaissance and awakening without waiting for the victory to come when “the people will begin to enter into the religion in droves.”

The Summary

- The vision of the Jihaadi Movement is to establish the Rightly-Guided Islaamic Khilaafah.
- Khilaafah means to establish all of the Shari'ah in all of the land.
- Any strategy which is placed to reach the vision is susceptible to change if it strays away from the vision (by leaving one of the two elements: establishing the Shari'ah and having a global conflict)
- We must take the necessary steps to establish the Khilaafah without empty speech.
- The strategy for reaching the vision should be to establish safe havens for the purpose of building the infrastructure.
- The infrastructure is comprised of: men and money.
- The method of spreading and expanding is to use guerrilla warfare at the fringes of the safe havens and outside operations deep within enemy lines while opening up new fronts and new safe havens.
- The tactics of conventional warfare should only be used when necessary to defend the state.
- Expanding conventionally is not off-limits so long as it is done with proper planning.
- The new aspect to this proposal lies in the importance of focus and in organizing our priorities without random action and splitting up our efforts.
- It is necessary to place a Khaliifah in charge as soon as possible without relying upon the policy of adding to the number of independent states which fall under the leadership of multiple leaders (this policy is not a goal in and of itself but rather it is allowed in times of necessity and it should be changed when possible).
- I propose that the Khaliifah be chosen from Quraysh and from the Arabian Peninsula.
- I propose that the Arabian Peninsula (especially Yemen) should be the capital of the Khilaafah for now.
- If the Khilaafah is announced in Iraq or anywhere else then that is good. The discussion here is only about what is best.
- It is not befitting to find excuses for establishing the Khilaafah because it is within our ability already.
- Delaying this announcement could cause problems and the idea of waiting to meet up in al-Quds is not a realistic idea.

I feel it is beneficial to mention a few other important points that are related to this topic:

From these points is:

- That it is not befitting to focus on the end-result of fighting (martyrdom) more than our focus upon the reason for the fighting (to raise the word of Allaah).

Muhammad Yaasiin said in his book (An Attempt to Put Forward Concepts for Jihaadi Action in Light of Globalism) (p. 9):

“Actions are but by intentions, and up until now we have not been forbidden from obtaining martyrdom because we are still sincerely striving for it. However, we *have* been forbidden from obtaining Khilaafah because we have not put forth a strategy for obtaining it...Indeed the love of martyrdom in the path of Allaah has led many to focus only upon the military aspects of the struggle to the exception, and to the disregard, of all other aspects. This is the case, while it’s known that the goal behind fighting is to raise the word of Allaah, the Exalted, *in the reality we live in*. Allaah, the Exalted, said: “And until all of the religion is for Allaah” and since this involves acting within bounds of our present reality, it is obligatory upon us to study this reality from the political, social, and educational angles with scientific measures, while deciding upon a real-life strategy that seeks to accomplish the aforementioned goal.”

- That it is not befitting to lose the initiative and to fall into the policy of being reactionary.

Muhammad bin Khaliil al-Hakaayimah said in his book (Towards a New Strategy) (p. 13):

“One of the most important elements of success in our battle lies in not letting our strategic goals fade out of our sight; rather they should always be in front of us. We should not stray away from the main course by falling into the policy of being reactionary towards what we may encounter from the *Taaghoot* regimes. This is the experience of a lifetime that I am putting forward for the field commanders. We have suffered very much from the policy of being reactionary at the level of individuals and the level of the commanders. We have also suffered very much, again, when trying to return back to the original course and the strategic goal. It is from our strategy to safeguard the unified goal without falling into peripheral battles that take us away from obtaining our strategic goals.”

Not sticking to the strategy also leads to splitting up the efforts, destroying the morale, and entering into the trap of attrition before actually obtaining any decisive results.

- That it is befitting to improve at all times without being stagnant; while improvement can be in the economic, military, or political realms. This is because the evil enemy is always seeking to find the weak points of the Muslims.
- That fighting with a greater power requires using unconventional means and it requires being long winded. This is exactly what is intended behind the strategy of Guerrilla Warfare. Even if it is within the capability of the weaker side to stand out against the greater power for a long period using conventional means...the end is always for the one who is most long winded – except by the will of Allaah the Lord of the Worlds.
- That it is befitting that we reduce the number of our enemies and that we hide our intentions of expanding in order that we do not scare our enemies into gathering together to fight us all at once. Because fighting from multiple angles at the same time is from the most difficult of matters.

But it is not allowed to use the policy of hiding our intentions as an excuse to change our principles and creed, as is not hidden to anyone!

- That it is not befitting to expand more than what the economic base can bear. We must look into the potentially beneficial results of expansion and weigh them against the possible harms before beginning such a thing.

For examples of this point it is instructional to look over the book of Paul Kennedy (The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers), because he explained many historical examples for this principle. So, just as refusing to expand inevitably leads to a collapse from within and to empowering the enemies from without; so too does simply expanding without careful planning and without weighing the benefits against the risks lead to the same end.

- That it is necessary to always check the direction we are heading while keeping the reality and environment in mind because things never remain the same. And change requires being aware, courageous, humble, aspiring, and patient. It is not befitting to refuse to change due to being unaware, cowardly, prideful, complacent, or lazy.

When there is a state of weakness we must change the strategy to what is appropriate to our reality (such as Guerrilla Warfare or *Amni* operations for example) and when there is a state of strength we must make appropriate changes (such as putting emphasis upon establishing the Shari'ah and organizing the army). Similarly, when we have expanded in a manner which is not beneficial – for example – we must realize that and then change directions. May Allaah have mercy upon the one who knows his limits and doesn't transgress them.

- That it is necessary to carry out precise planning before doing anything without simply relying upon randomness while claiming that this is true reliance upon

Allaah or while claiming to have love for martyrdom and listing the virtues of courage.

- That falling into an unexpected problem or crisis does not have to mean the end. There is always room for limiting the losses and for escaping from the crisis. For example: if we have entered into a war that will lead to attrition without any positive results, this does not mean that the only option for avoiding a series of defeats is to continue fighting the same war. It could be possible that making a treaty, or executing a tactical retrograde, or changing the strategy, or displaying a show of force would lead to the same end. Sometimes the reality on the ground requires taking a bad option to avoid a worse one.
- That despite the incredible importance of heavenly means, Allaah has informed us that taking the earthly means is also obligatory when He said: “And prepare for them what you can of power and of steeds of war to terrorize the enemy of Allaah and your enemy therewith,” (Surah al-Anfaal: 60) and when He said: “And if they had intended to go out they would have prepared for it,” (Surah at-Tawbah: 46) and there are other verses about this subject. Therefore, it is not befitting that we only rely upon the heavenly means because leaving off the earthly means is actually a type of sin and it leads to defeat.

In fact, there is a strong relationship between the two types of means (the heavenly and the earthly). It is from the Universal Sunnahs of Allaah – after the old nations were all destroyed – that whoever does not take the heavenly means, Allaah will set him up for defeat through what would be considered to be from amongst the earthly means.

Allaah, the Exalted, said: “And do not be like those who forgot Allaah, so He caused them to forget themselves.” (Surah al-Hashr: 19) Ibn Kathiir said: “Meaning: do not forget the remembrance of Allaah and have Him cause you to forget the actions which are in your best interests which will benefit you in your next life; because rewards are from the same category as their actions.” I do not see the need to limit the meaning of this verse to that which will only benefit them in the hereafter because the context of this verse was about: “Those who have hypocrisy say to their brothers who have disbelieved from the People of the Book: ‘If you are forced out of your homes we will go out with you and we will never obey anyone when it comes to you. And if you are fought we will come to your aid,’ and Allaah bears witness that they are liars. If they are removed from their homes they will not go out with them and if they are fought they will not come to their aid. And even if they come to their aid they will turn their backs and then they will not be given victory. You are more feared in their chests than Allaah. That is because they are a people who do not understand.” (Surah al-Hashr: 11-14). So when they forget Allaah, He causes them to forget themselves and He puts fear into their hearts. They betray one another and split up, making themselves an easy target; each one leaves the other without the support of his companion. Also, even when they fight alongside one another and support one another they retreat

and leave their backs open to the swords of the Muslims. Therefore, they lose their wealth, their homes, their women, and their children, while it would have been better for them to have patience for an hour.

We could find ourselves disregarding the earthly means – which leads to defeat – because we already have shortcomings when it comes to the heavenly means. Therefore, we should beware of disregarding either one of the two types because each one leads to, or indicates, the other!

- That from the strongest of the heavenly means is to establish the Shari'ah of Allaah in the land no matter how hard it may seem. Whoever takes all of the heavenly means and whatever Allaah has made easy for him from the earthly means, then Allaah is with him and He will give him victory, and there is none to overcome him. It is not befitting to look at the numbers of the enemy or their strength in such a state because Allaah, the Exalted, said: "How many small groups have defeated larger groups by the will of Allaah." And the verses and hadiths about this are innumerable.